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# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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## ON THE FRENCH *BOIS* AND *BACHELIER*

### I. POP. LAT. *buscus*, 'WOOD'

While the Romance vocabulary in substance may be described as constituted of words inherited from Latin plus a great number of borrowings from Greek, Celtic, Teutonic, etc., it also contains a small quantity of words of obscure origin, which seem to be a wild growth on the old Latin stock. These words, which mostly belong to the language of peasants, are important, both because they contribute not a little to give to Romance as distinct from Latin its typical aspect, and because they are real, popular creations, having lived an obscure, undignified and ignoble existence till they appeared on the entire area of the Romance field.

Such a life, quite independent from any influence of the written language, made them especially subject to abnormal deformations and to extravagant developments. Therefore, they are *crucis* of Romance and Latin philology. Among them is to be reckoned the radical of It. *bosco* (wood), which had such an extraordinary fortune both in Romance and in Teutonic. Cf. Fr. *bois*, North French *bos*, Prov. *bosc*, Dutch *bosch*, Engl. *bush*, Germ. *Busch*, etc.

Many etymologies, of course, have been presented. Storm<sup>1</sup> and many others look upon *buxus* (box-tree) as the etymon of *bosco*. Körting prefers to derive it from a conjectural<sup>2</sup> *busticus*, which would be an adjective formed from *combustum* (burnt) and thus mean 'fire-wood.' Meyer-Lübke<sup>3</sup> connects the word with Gr. *βοσκή*, 'meadow.' There are many objections to be raised against these hypotheses.

<sup>1</sup> *Lat.-Rom. Wörterb.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Rom. Etym. Wörterb.*, p. 88.

It is certain that the box-tree was providing a very much appreciated kind of wood. Box-wood, like yew, was a substitute for metal in a great many articles which we now produce on a large scale in various kinds of cheap metallic compositions. To this is ascribed the fact that those bushes, which used to be common in Western Europe, have now become somewhat exceptional as wild trees. Box-wood in particular was used for cabinet-work and its name has remained attached to our boxes (Gr. *πυξίς*, Vulg. Lat. *buxida*, O. Fr. *boiste*). It would thus be conceivable that box-wood, being a much appreciated material, could have become, *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, the name of wood, inasmuch as it was used for fine work and utensils, and then by extension for any kind of wood. This, however, is hardly borne out by the facts. One does not find any single instance of *buxus* with a meaning sufficiently extended to entitle us to believe in a further evolution, including not only 'wood' as a material, but 'forest, log,' etc. Moreover, the descendants of *buxus* in Romance have been kept sufficiently distinct from the *bosco* family. They are: It. *bosso*, Fr. *buis*, Catal. *box*, in contrast with It. *bosco*, Fr. *bois*, etc.

As to *busticus*, it is of course a mere guess. Its early reduction to *buscus*, in Italy, is not very probable, and the formation is too extraordinary to be accepted unless we should have serious reasons to believe in its existence. The presence of *bosco* in Romance is not a reason, if there is any other way to account for that formation.

Meyer-Lübke's *βοσκή* is perhaps even less satisfactory. One has no example at all of its use in Latin. Moreover, in Greek it always refers to 'pastures.' Besides, *bosco* is not *bosca*.

The question thus remained open, and new suggestions were welcome. Now, one was presented by Professor L. Wiener, of Harvard University, in his *Commentary to the Germanic Laws and Mediaeval Documents* (Cambridge, Mass., 1915). This recent book contains a precious documentation and many an interesting etymological suggestion, though unfortunately it is impossible to follow the writer in most of his conjectures. His study of the older mediaeval documents in Gaul, Italy, and Spain has resulted in emphasizing the importance of the word *arbustum*, 'woody estate, ground planted with trees,' as a term of Low Latinity. Professor Wiener looks upon *arbustum* as the substratum of *bosco*. The suggestion is a very happy one. It finds ample justification

in the external documentation provided by the writer's research. Unfortunately, the argumentation as it is presented is not likely to convince Romance or Latin philologists. It is thus not altogether superfluous to reconsider the question and, moreover, to bring into the case many facts which are not to be found in Professor Wiener's argument, though they are of great importance and provide essential links.

The question of *bosco* appears to the writer as an illustration of the phenomena of contamination which have played an essential part in the development of the Romance vocabulary, though they have been hitherto rather underestimated by philologists. The influence of contamination in the Indo-European languages has been suggested first, so it seems, by Bartholomae in his review of Persson's sensational book upon *Wurzelweiterung und Wurzelvariation*, 1892. The Scandinavian philologist has made a patient study of the Indo-European roots, and has shown that a good many of them appear in the various languages with phonetic additions (*Wurzel-Determinativ*) of various kinds. Bartholomae wonders whether several of those variations are not due to the influence on the speakers' minds of roots of similar meaning, resulting in a crossing of the one with the other. Guntert <sup>4</sup> has recently shown, more definitely, how words of kindred meaning come to receive the same ending and form a series of rime-words, just as in English: *clash*, *crash*, *dash*, *lash*, *mash*, *slash*, *smash*, *splash*,<sup>5</sup> while alliterative series of the same nature are found in *flame*, *flare*, *flash*, *flimmer*, *flicker*, related to the movements of light. In this we have applications of the well-known tendency to assimilate phonetically words which in our mind are associated in a group of meanings. The process, of course, is unconscious and may be observed in all of us. Some time ago, for instance, I was caught saying 'impolence' by mixing 'insolence' with 'impoliteness.' It is in that way that Popular Latin and Romance have produced:

Pop. Lat. *acrestis*, 'unripe grapes,' from *acer* and *agrestis*;—Pop. Lat. *diamant(em)*, 'diamond,' from *adamas* and *diaphanes*;—It. *ansima*, 'anxiety,' from *asthma* and *anxia*;—Sard. *dolima*, 'throes of childbirth,' from *asthma* and *dolor*;—O. Fr. *angoine*, 'anxiety,' from *ἀγωνία* and *anger*;—Sp. *alondra*, 'lark,' from

<sup>4</sup> Guntert, *Ueber Reimwort-bildung im Arischen und Altgriechischen*.

<sup>5</sup> L. Bloomfield, *Introduction to the Study of Language*, p. 19.

*alauda* and *calandra*;—Aret. *boccino*, ‘calf,’ from *bos* and *vacca*;—O. Fr. *chétif*, ‘captive,’ from *captivus* and *coactus* (?);—Fr. *enveloppe* from *fulappa* and *volvere*;—O. Fr. *hansta* from *hasta* and Teut. *hand*;—O. Fr. *goupil* from *vulpes* and Teut. *hwelp*, ‘young dog;’—Fr. *abasourdir* from *luridus* and *surdus*;—Sp. *tuerca*, ‘screw,’ from *torquere* and *pōrca* (cf. Port. *puerca*, ‘screw’);—Fr. *ronfler*, ‘to snore,’ from *runcare* and *conflare*;—It. *sporcicare*, ‘to make dirty,’ from *spurcus*, ‘dirty,’ and *pōrcus*; *spurcido*, ‘dirty,’ from *spurcus* and *sucidus*, etc.

It is our thesis that the formation of *buscum*, ‘wood,’ and *būsca*, ‘log,’ out of Latin *arbustum* is due mainly to processes of contamination of that very kind.

The existence of a word *arbustum* meaning ‘land covered with trees’ is well attested in Latin (*Thesaurus*, s. v.). Notably Cato speaks of a ‘fundus suburbanum arbustum.’ The word is properly an adjective derived from *arbor* (*arbos*) as *venustus* has been formed from *Venus*. It was used as a noun, at an early period, as was so often the case in the language of Roman peasants. It may, after all, be looked upon as a collective to be put on a line with the *-etum*-words like *roboretum*, *alnetum*, *quercetum*, *arboretum*, etc., in which the suffix is a combination of *to* and the *ē* of *floreo*, *floresco*, etc. The word *arbustum* was used of all kinds of wooded land but particularly for an estate on which trees were used as a support for vines. Columella describes at length that manner of cultivating the vines.<sup>6</sup> Such a plantation was called an *arbustum vitatum*, an expression current in Italy in the early mediaeval documents.<sup>7</sup> Hence in glossaries the mention of *arbustivum vinum*, *arbustivum mustum* for ὁ ἐξ ἀναδεδραδων οἶνος.<sup>8</sup> In the documents of the South of Italy, however, *arbustum* is used generally for ‘woodland’ as opposed to *campus*,<sup>9</sup> e. g.: *petia arbustata et campese* (a. 1021). The word in that country appears as the equivalent of *buscalia* used in Northern Italy, while a *petia arbustiva* in Lombardy is a *terra buscaliva* or *buschiva*.

Another current derivative was *buscaria*, for which one also finds *arbustaria*.<sup>10</sup> That frequent ending *-aria* was especially well represented in toponymic terms for collectives; *Filicaria* > *Fougères*,

<sup>6</sup> Wiener, o. c., p. 110.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>8</sup> Nettleship, *Contributions to Lt. Lexicog.*, p. 262.

<sup>9</sup> Wiener, o. c., p. 112.

<sup>10</sup> *Ib.*, p. 113.

*Brucarias* > *Bruyères*, *Sabulonaria* > Wall. *Sauvenière*, *Ferrarias* > *Ferrières*, *Petrarias* > *Perrières*, *Marularias* > *Marlières* (*marnière*), *Frigidarium* > *Freyr* (Belgium, Prov. Namur), *Carpinaria* > *Carnière* (Belgium, Hainault), etc. In Spain, *arbustum* also is found occasionally, but much more frequent is a term *bustum* or *bustellum*: *de fonte Sombrona usque ad foz de busto* (804), *cum montibus, fontibus, azoreras, bustis, pratis, . . .* (823), *ad-dicimus etiam Ecclesiae Vestrae busta praenominata* (891), *in bustello in Villa nova* (1181), *bustello medio de sepe* (906), etc., etc.;<sup>11</sup> *bustaria* is also found there, and offers thus the perfect equivalent of the Italian *buscaria*. Curiously enough, *bustarias* survives in Portuguese *busteiro*, with the unexpected meaning of 'cock-chafer,' apparently as 'one that lives in bushes.'

That *bustum*, *bustellum*, *bustaria* may be alterations of *arbustum*, *arbustellum*, *arbustaria* is made very probable by the presence of both series of words in the same countries with the same meaning. The apheresis of the first syllable is found in several Popular Latin words, as Sen. *boccio*, 'silkworm,' It. *bozzolo*, 'silkworm,' It. *bigio*, 'gray,' Fr. *bis* etc., from *bombyceus*, while *bombix* and *bombax* are preserved in Tosc. *beco*, 'olive-worm,' It. *baco*, 'silkworm,' Ven. *bigoli*, 'vermicello,' etc. It. *gnaresta*, 'wild grape,' is for *vinea-agrestis*, It. *breccia* comes from Lat. *imbriceus*, and It. *cesso* from *recessus*, 'retired place,' *animal* is *nimal* in Parma, *limal* in Piacenza, *namale* in Rumania. The apheresis of initial *a* is moreover found in many words, apparently through confusion between *l'a* and *la*; cf. It. *gana* (*aquana*), *pecchia* (*apicula*), *polizza* (*ἀπόδειξις*), *bottega* (*ἀποθήκη*), *bozzima* (*ἀπόζυμα*), etc.

In the family of *arbor*, *ar* has been lost in the word *bora* (= *arborea*) found in the North of Italy with the meaning of 'log.' Cf. Lomb. Ven. *bora*, 'fallen tree,' Berg. *boreta*, 'beam,' *borel*, 'log,' etc. Schneller is the first to have pointed to that etymology for *bora*.<sup>12</sup> One is rather surprised to read in Meyer-Lübke's dictionary that such an explanation does not agree with the meaning of *bora*, especially if one remembers how many feminine adjectives in *-ea* have replaced in Popular Latin the names of trees. Cf. *quercea* (It. *quercia*), *ceresea* (Fr. *cerise*), *saliceus* (Prov.

<sup>11</sup> Wiener, o. c., p. 115.

<sup>12</sup> *Romanische Volksmunde*, p. 119.

*saletz*, 'willow'), *acereus* (Engad. *ažer*, 'maple'), etc. Besides, the loss of *ar-* is observable in It. *bruscello*, 'may-tree,' from *arbruscellum* = *arbuscellum* = *arbustellum* (cf. *infra*). As to *arbustellum* itself, Professor Wiener<sup>13</sup> mentions that a place called *Arbustellum* in 870 later appears as *alboscum* and *ad illum boscum*.

The loss of *ar-* in *arbustum*, *arbustaria*, moreover, has been, it seems, facilitated by a contamination with *bustar*, *bustum*, used in Latin for 'a place to burn corpses.' Walde<sup>14</sup> connects both those words with *comburare*.

Now, Papias tells us that *bostar* was 'locus ubi comburebantur corpora boum vel statio boum.'<sup>15</sup> He is thus betraying in a striking manner the confusion which existed in the minds of the people concerning the meaning of that word. It was supposed to contain the word *bos*, 'cow,' and was thus understood as meaning 'boum statio, boum stabulum.' In such conditions, *bustar* became *bostar*. This mistake may be due simply to the rarity of the word *bustar*. Such cases of folk-etymology are common, of course, when words cease to be properly understood. The burning of great quantities of cows in hecatombs would make that mistake natural, and the Greek *βουστάσιον* may have facilitated that evolution. Lindsay is thus hardly right in assuming the existence of a word *bostar* of the same type as *instar*. This point, however, is of secondary importance. In later times there was only one word *bostar* currently understood as 'place where there are cows,' either 'shambles' or 'pasture.' Towards the end of the ninth century, the abbot of St. German's Church in Paris mentions that in 886 there was such a mass of cattle in the aula of St. German 'that it was turned into a *bostar*.'

Matthew of Paris uses in the thirteenth century *bostar* as the regular word for a 'cattle-yard.' The word survives with that meaning in Spain: Span. *bostar*, 'stable.' That in Portuguese *busto* has also that meaning is probably due to a contamination between *arbustum* and *bustar*, and not to a 'Rückbildung' as Meyer-Lübke<sup>16</sup> thinks. This is the more likely since in the eighth century *arbustum*, *bustum*, and *bustellum*, in Spain, were used for

<sup>13</sup> Wiener, *o. c.*, p. 114.

<sup>14</sup> Walde, *Lat. Etym. Wört.*, s. v.

<sup>15</sup> Wiener, *o. c.*, p. 115.

<sup>16</sup> *Op. cit.*, s. v.

'piece of wood on the outskirts of the estate in which cattle were left in relative freedom, as in a corral.'<sup>17</sup>

If therefore *bustum* may very well come from *arbustum*, we still have to account for the change of *st* into *sc* in the form *buscum*.

There is not so much difficulty in this as it may seem at first sight, if we consider that for *arbustellum* the people usually said *arbuscellum* or *albuscellum*, as shown by It. *arboscello*, *alboscello*, O. Bergam. *erbosel*.

In France, under the influence of *arbor*, one said *arbruscellum*; hence O. Fr. *arbrisseau*, Prov. *arbrissel*. It is that *arbruscellum* which gives It. *bruscello*, 'may-tree' (cf. *supra*).

Meyer-Lübke (*s. v.*) thinks that one first had *arbustlum* and then *arbusclum* (like *vetlus*, *veclus*), hence *arbuscellum*. This series is merely hypothetic and not very probable. It is more likely that the rare ending *-stellum* has undergone the influence of the numerous diminutives in *-cellum*, and here again the contamination has helped the process.

But *arbuscellum*, *arbruscellum* are not the only words of that family in which *sc* has been substituted for *st*. In the French forests the *bois*, *broussailles*, *buissons*, are opposed to the *fûtaie*, the big trees (Fr. *fût*). This word goes back to Pop. Lat. *fūstis*, 'tick, log.' Now, the diminutive of that word in Italy was *fuscellus* (It. *fuscello*), while that same word in Gaul had undergone the well-known metathesis of *sc* into *cs* (cf. *cresco* > *crexo* > Fr. *crois*) and was pronounced *fuxellus*, as shown by O. Fr. *fuissel*.

The hesitation between *arbustellus* and *arbuscellus*, *fustellus* and *fuscellus* must be pretty old if one considers that it has been extended to words of the same semantic family. *Ramus*, 'twig,' would very normally give a diminutive *ramicellum*, but this is not, in fact, the form actually found. In spite of all the habits of Latin, the diminutive of *ramus* was *ramustellus* and *ramuscellus*, in which we have a fine illustration of the formation of rime-words, as mentioned at the beginning of this article. *Fagus* similarly gives *fagustellum*, 'small beech, bush' (Fr. *foûteau*). *Ramustellus* survives in Bergam. *gramostel*, Lièg. *rehtel*, while *ramuscellus* is the origin of It. *ramocello*, Fr. *raincel*.

The same hesitation between *st* and *sc* is, moreover, found in It.

<sup>17</sup> Wiener, *o. c.*, p. 115.



*fruscola*, coming from *frustum*, 'piece, stick, and in *ruscum*, 'butcher's broom,' besides *rustum*, 'blackberry shrub.' The two series of forms are preserved in Romance. On one side, Prov. *rois*, 'bush,' *roiso*, 'shrub,' Vincent. *rusa*, 'blackberry,' Nap. *rushte* come from *rusteum* and *rustea*; on the other, It. Sp. *rusco*, Romagn. *rosk* clearly go back to *ruscum*. The plural *rusca* is not found with that meaning of 'shrub,' but, curiously enough, in a large area there existed a word *rūsca* with a long *u*, meaning 'bark.' One finds it still in Lomb. *ruska*, 'bark, scale,' Parm. *ruska*, 'tanner's spent bark,' Fr. *ruche*, 'bee-hive (in bark).' May we recognize in it the collective-plural of *ruscum*? Beside *rūstum*, *rūscum*, *rūsca*, existed a curious word: *brustum*, *bruscum*, *brūsca*. Pliny first mentions *bruscum*. Meyer-Lübke<sup>18</sup> has shown that the word is used for 'mushrooms growing on the bark of trees.' This meaning would account for that of It. *debruscare*, 'to clean the stems of trees.' *Brustum* and *brustrum* are mentioned in glossaries,<sup>19</sup> where they are translated by 'materiae genus.' Both *brustum* and *bruscum* have been transmitted to Romance with various meanings, which seem, however, to agree fairly well with that of *bruscum* in Pliny. They all refer namely to uneven surfaces, rough, thorny, bushy objects as shown by It. *bruscare*, 'to prune trees,' Fr. *brousse*, *broussaille*, 'thick husk' (= *bruscea*, *bruxalia* for *bruscalia*), Calabr. *brusca*, 'brush, for horses,' all coming from *bruscum*, while It. *brustia*, 'brush,' is derived from *brustum*. The French *brosse* (hence Eng. *brush*), with its open *o* is evidently a contamination between *brustio*, *bruscio*, and *broccus*, 'prickly, pointed.'<sup>20</sup> The result was *broccia*, accounting for the otherwise very mysterious French word. That this is the origin of Fr. *brosse* is semantically confirmed by Sp. *broza*, 'scraps from the bark of trees.' It. *bruzzoli* (= *brustioli*), 'scraps,' It. *brusco*, 'butcher's broom,' Prov. *brusc*, 'butcher's broom,' It. *brusco*, 'harsh,' Prov. *bruscar*, 'to scrape a ship with a broom,' also connect the meaning of 'scrap' with that of 'brush, broom.' Meyer-Lübke looks upon *bruscum* as a combination of *ruscum* with Celt. *brūca*, 'heath.' This would hardly account for the fundamental

<sup>18</sup> *Wiener Stud.*, xxv, pp. 93-199.

<sup>19</sup> Meyer-Lübke, *ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> This adjective has been applied in Italy to sticks: It. *brocco*, 'pointed stick,' *brocca*, 'perch.' In Wallonian also *broc* is a 'stick' or a 'thorn.' A contamination with *truncus* gave It. *bronco*, 'trunk.'

meaning of all those derivatives, which is clearly 'scraps of bark or wood.' *Brūca* may, however, have influenced with its *ū* some words of the family by occasional mental associations.

Other associations of the same kind apparently have brought *bruscum*, *brustum* semantically nearer to (*ar*)*buscum*, (*ar*)*buscellum*, as proved by the existence of *bruscellum*, 'may-tree,' and by expressions like: *brusca Marcofeldis* (a. 94),<sup>21</sup> *in toto brusco* (a. 1402).<sup>22</sup> The Basque words *brost*, *brosk*, *bost*, 'wood,' seem to have been borrowed also from Popular Latin.<sup>23</sup>

Summing up the review of words kindred with (*ar*)*bustum*, (*ar*)*buscum*, both in meaning and in form, we conclude that the apheresis of *ar-*, the interchange of *st* and *sc*, *ũ* and *ū* in the whole family is due to a very intricate process of reciprocal contamination.

We will thus, of course, no longer hesitate to recognize in the mysterious word *būsca*<sup>24</sup> one of these collectives in *a* referring to materials. It was associated with *buscum*, *bustum*, as *rūsca* was with *rūscum*, *rūstum*. The word survives in Lomb. *busca*, Sic. *vuska*, Engad. *buska*, 'transom,' Fr. *bûche*, 'log,' *bûcher*, 'to cut wood,' Sp. *buscar*, 'seek for wood in a heap,' hence 'seek,' *buscalha*, 'twigs' (a variation of *bruscalia*; cf. *supra*). Among the words which more especially help in developing the long *ū* are to be mentioned: *rūsca*, 'bark,' and *fūstis*, *fūscellus*, 'stems.' The same long *ū* was furthermore introduced into *frustum*, 'a bit, a stick' (cf. It. *frusto*, *frusta*, *fruscolo*) and in *buxus*, 'box-tree' (cf. Fr. *buisson*). *Brūca*, 'heath,' of Celtic origin, and *būttum*, 'log,' *brūcum*, 'trunk,' coming from Teutonic, have obviously also, at least in Gaul, been introduced into that same semantic and phonetic family and can but have helped in the propagation of the *ū*. Outside *būsca*, the *ū* seems to have been introduced at least in one derivative of *buscum*, 'wood,' namely Fr. *embûcher*, *embusquer*, 'to push game into the woods, make an ambush.' In contrast with It. *emboscar*, this word with its *u* was for Meyer-Lübke a riddle.<sup>25</sup> It will now, I hope, be devoid of mystery.

<sup>21</sup> Bouquet, 9, No. 382.

<sup>22</sup> Muñoz y Romero, p. 191; Wiener, o. c., p. 191.

<sup>23</sup> Wiener, *ibid*.

<sup>24</sup> Meyer-Lübke, s. v.

<sup>25</sup> *Wört.*, s. v. *bosca*. The only member of the series which preserved *ũ* is *tūsca*, 'grove,' found in French place-names (*Le Touquet*, *Les Touches*). Cf. Beszard, *Noms de lieux du Maine*, p. 170.

The history of this family of words not only elucidates many etymological problems: It. *brucello*, 'may-tree,' Fr. *bûche*, Lomb. *ruska*, 'bark,' Fr. *brosse*, *brousse*, *broussaille*, *buisson*, *fuissel*, *arbrisseau*, *raincel*, Sp. *bostar*, It. *bora*, etc., but also gives a striking illustration of the part played by contamination in the history of the Popular Latin vocabulary. Contaminations have been observed between practically all terms meaning 'tree, log,' or 'shrub' and namely between: *frutellus* and *buxus*;—*fustellus* and (*ar*)*buscellus*;—*fūstis* and *rusca* (*ar*)*busta*;—*arbor* and *arbuscellum*;—*ramus* and *arbuscellum*;—*rusca* and *bruscum*;—*buxus* and (*ar*)*bustus*;—*broccus* and *bruscia*, *bruscus*;—*broccus* and *truncus*;—*frustum*, *fūstis* and *bruscum*;—*bustar* and (*ar*)*bustum*, *bos*;—*brūca* and *ruscum*. This study has also brought us into close touch with the language of peasants, the least known of all the special languages which contributed to the formation of the new Latin, or rather Pre-Romance, vocabulary. The following article on *baccalaris* will tend to throw light on another obscure section of that peasant's language.

## II. POP. LAT. *bacca*, *baccalaris*, *bacassa*

The most varied etymologies have been presented for the word 'bachelor,' and Meyer-Lübke in his dictionary refuses to make any fresh suggestion. The word is there surrounded with many words in *bac*-, as *bacassa*, *baccus*, *baccellus*, for which no origin can be indicated.

A good many of those words refer to basins or cups: *bacar*, *bacca*, *baccinum*, *baccus*; others refer to fruit: *baca*, *bacula*, *baciola*; others to peasants: *bacassa*, *baccalaris*, or preserve the name of Bacchus, the god of the village festivals: *bacchanal*, *bacchanum*, *baccho*.

Those series of meanings, at first sight, seem too divergent to make it possible that these words ever constituted a semantic family. I believe, however, that a closer consideration will show that this was the case. The various terms may be traced back to *bāca*, 'fruit, grape,' or to *Bacchus*. It is evident that those two words were themselves connected with one another in the minds of the people, as will be shown by several contaminations. But, if we accept Walde's suggestion, both *bāca* and *Bacchus* may be considered as coming from one word, that meant 'grape' in the lan-

guage of the pre-Aryan populations of the Mediterranean regions. This is made fairly probable by the preservation of the meaning 'grape' for *baca* in Spain. Cf. Varro, *L. L.*, 7, 87: "Vinum in Hispania bacca." In Galician *bago* is still 'grape,' and this meaning has also been preserved in Cymr. *bagwy*, 'grape,' borrowed from Latin. *Bacarium* in glossaries is translated by 'vas vinarium.'<sup>26</sup>

But even if *baca* originally is not connected phonetically with *Bacchus*, the influence of the latter has been constant on *bāca* and its derivatives. These derivatives can be divided into several groups. First, one has a certain number of words in which is preserved the meaning of 'berry,' which is the most common for *bāca* in Latin and Romance. This meaning, which is already an enlargement of the meaning 'grape,' has been extended to the envelope of the fruit, so that *bāca* already in Latin could be a 'husk.' By metaphor, in the same way as *gemma*, 'bud,' means 'pear,' *bāca* could also be said of 'beads' and was used for various jewels. Another less brilliant metaphor, also based on the round shape of the berries, resulted in *bāca* being used for 'crotals.' All these meanings are preserved in Romance for *bāca* and for its derivatives. Husks are Lucch. *baca*, Span. *baya* (from Fr. *baie*), Span. *baga*, 'membrane of the flax-seed,' It. *bacello*. Pearls or jewels are Prov. *baga*, hence It. *baga*, 'pearl,' Fr. *bague*, 'ring,' while Istr. *vaga* is 'marble.' 'Crotals' are Lomb. *bagola*, Moden. *begla*, Alb. *bagala*. Moreover, Triest. *bagola* is said of any short, stout person, and It. *bagatella* of all small valueless things.

The meaning 'berry' still prevails in Fr. *baie* and in various diminutives as *baciola* (It. *bagiola*), 'huckleberry,' *bacarius* (Tosc. *bacero*, 'huckleberry'), *bacula*, hence It. *bacola*, *bagola*, *macola*, 'alizer, fruit of the lote-tree.' Besides *bacula* existed *baccula*, hence It. *baccola*, 'huckleberry.' That double *cc* is found also in It. *bacchetto*, 'husk' or 'blockhead.' The latter meaning, which is found in other words of this family, is also present in It. *baciocco*, which Meyer-Lübke presumes to be a contamination of *bacello* with *sciocco*. The double *cc* is also found in *bacca*, for *baca*, in many Latin texts.<sup>27</sup> The reduplication of the consonant in that word is, of course, one among many examples of a very well known process in

<sup>26</sup> Walde, p. 80.

<sup>27</sup> *E. g.*, in Varro, *L. L.*, 7, 87.

Popular Latin, found, *e. g.*, in *pŭppa* : *pŭpa*, *mŭccus* : *mŭcus*, *cŭppa* : *cŭpa*, *cŭppus* : *cipus*, etc.

The derivatives of the second and third series also show *cc* besides *c* and also *ch*, by influence of *Bacchus*. The first of those two series contains a good number of derivatives referring to basins, cups, and other kinds of receptacles.

Among them is *bachia* mentioned by Isidor: <sup>28</sup> “*bachia primum a Baccho, quod est vinum, nominata; postea in usus aquarios transiit.*” The word *bachia* has not survived in Romance, but the explanation given by Isidor is interesting. The use of *Bacchus* with the meaning of ‘wine’ is found elsewhere (‘*Bacchi antiqui,*’ ‘*Veteris Bacchi,*’ in *Gloss. Ep.*, p. 5, c. 38).<sup>29</sup> We may thus safely assume that *bacarium*, ‘vas vinarium’ or ‘vas aquarium’ (Gloss), *bacario*, ‘urceoli genus’ (Gloss), were understood as derivatives of *Bacchus* as well as of *bāca*. No wonder thus if we find in Gregory of Tours the spelling *bacchinon* (as though from *Bacchus*) for a word that seems to have been *baccinum* (from *baca*, *bacca*), surviving in Fr. *bassin*, It. *bacino*, Prov. *baci*, etc. The word obviously is a derivative in *-inus* of the type of *caninus*, *serpentinus*. It is thus an abbreviation of (*vas*) *baccinum*, a variation of (*vas*) *bacarium*. The aforementioned form *bacario* is a derivative of *bacar* (*vas bacar[e]*), described in Paul Festus, 22. Thd. P., as “*vas vinarium simile bacrioni.*” *Bacrio* is also found for that kind of object: “*bacrionem dicebant genus vasis longioris manubri, hoc alii trullam appellabant*” (*ib.*).<sup>30</sup> The Sicilian word *bacara*, ‘pitcher,’ evidently goes back to one of those forms. The Italian word *bacile* represents another type of adjectival derivative. It is a rime word of *ovile*, *suile*, *fenile*. There is nothing really extraordinary in the formation of those words, nor in their meaning. It may seem more astonishing to find that same meaning represented by underived words like *baccus* and *bacca*.

*Baccus* is Fr. *bac*, ‘trough, ferry,’ Dutch *bak* is borrowed from French, not the reverse, as Koerting believes. But a Celtic origin for both those words, as Meyer-Lübke suggests, has no support. It seems to us more likely to treat *baccus* as a “*Rückbildung*” from *baccinum*. The *inus*-suffix in Late Latin acquired the value

<sup>28</sup> *Orig.*, 20. 5. 4.

<sup>29</sup> Nettleship, *Contrib. to Lexicog.*, p. 392.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Walde, p. 80.

of a diminutive ending. Cf. *Domnina*, on a Spanish inscription,<sup>31</sup> *pectorina* > Fr. *poitrine*, 'breast,' *narina* > Fr. *narine*, 'nostril,' *radicina* > Fr. *racine*, 'root,' *culicinum* > Fr. *cousin*, 'small mosquito,' *pullicinum* > Fr. *poussin*, 'chicken,' etc.

Now, in various cases augmentatives have been formed from diminutives, simply by cutting off the endings *-ellus*, *-inus*, etc.: *avicellus*, 'little bird, bird,' for instance, has developed *avica*, 'the big bird,' that is 'the goose' (Fr. *oie*), *vas(i)cellum*, 'small vase,' gave *vas(i)cum*, 'a big basin for water' (It. *vasco* 'kieve'). From *corbicula*, 'basket' (Fr. *corbeille*), arose *corbicus*, 'big basket' (Bolog. *korg*, Milan. *koreg*). Similarly, *manicla*, 'handle of the plow,' generated *manicum*, 'big handle' (Fr. *manche*). The preceding article has shown how *buscum* could be derived from (*ar*)*buscellum* while the apocope of *inium* is found in *tricla* from *triclinium*, 'dining room,' a word applied to rooms in foliage: Fr. *treille*, 'vine arbor.' *Bacca* is found beside *baccus* in Gaul. It also has the meaning of 'big receptacle'; hence Fr. *batche*, 'tank,' Lyon. *basho*, 'small boat,' Fr. *bachot*, 'canoe,' Lyon. *bašasi*, 'trough for pigs,' Norm. *bašo*, 'net to catch shell-fish.' The word *bacca* with those meanings is thus clearly a new formation from *baccinum*, rather than a doublet of *baca*, in the same way as *cuppa*, 'cup,' is a doublet of *cūpa*, 'kieve.' An interesting parallel to the formation of *baccus* from *baccinum* is the abbreviation of *catinus*, 'bowl,' into *cattia* (It. *cazza*, 'trough').

Besides those numerous derivatives arising from *bāca*, 'wine,' there were several others, found with practically the same suffixes, in which prevailed the meaning of 'fruit' or 'husk.'

Besides *baccinum*, 'basin,' existed *bacina*, 'hen-bane,'<sup>32</sup> for which *baccana* or *baccina* are also found in glossaries.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, Pliny knows of *bacalia* as the name of a kind of laurel, producing much fruit. We know nothing more about that tree, and the word looks very much like a collective of a type very frequent in Romance: *aqualia*, 'waterworks' > *Aywaïlle* (village near Liège), *novalia*, 'fallow lands' > *Noaille* (place-name frequent in France), *rosalia*, 'festival of roses' (Pentecost) > Rum. *rusalî*, *serralia*, 'jagged herb' > Sp. *cerraja*, 'thistle,' *carpinalia* > 'thicket of hornbeams' >

<sup>31</sup> Carnoy, *Le Latin d'Espagne*, 2d ed., 1906, p. 114.

<sup>32</sup> Walde, p. 80.

<sup>33</sup> *Thesaurus* L. L., s. v.

*Carnaille* (place-name in Northern France).<sup>34</sup> Similarly, *ramilia*, 'branches' > Fr. *ramille*, *canilia*, 'bran' (*canus*, 'gray') > Sic. *canniggia*. That the word is treated as a feminine is merely a feature of Popular Latin, which is found already at an early period (*fate*, *CIL*, II. 89 apparently in the 2nd century A. D.).

The word betrays thus the existence of an adjective *bacalis* or *baccalis* referring to fruit-bearing trees.<sup>35</sup> Its use as a noun in connection with trees or places planted with trees reminds us of *carpinalia*, *ramilia* aforementioned. It appears to have been one of those countless nominal adjectives in *-ale*, *-ile* applied to country places and farming implements, found in the language of peasants and in Romance toponymy, as *casa*, 'house' > *casale*, 'village,' > Fr. *chazal* (frequent place-name); *novus*, 'new' > *novale*, 'new field' > It. *novale*, 'fallow land'; *aqua*, 'water' > *aquale*, 'canal, brook' > Engad. *ovel*, 'brook'; *locus*, 'spot' > *locale*, 'spot' > Sp. *lugar*; *nuca*, 'nut' > *nucale*, 'walnut-tree' > Sp. *nogal*, Wall. *nawé*; *area*, 'threshing floor' > *areale*, 'threshing floor' > Engad. *irel*; *caput*, 'head' > *capitale*, 'herds of cattle,' 'cattle' > OFr. *chetel*; *mansio*, 'house' > *mansionile*, 'hamlet' > Fr. *ménil*; *cohors*, 'yard' > *cortile*, 'garden' > Fr. *courtil*, etc., etc.

The meaning of *baccale* was thus 'tree with *baccae*' (cf. *nucale*). Now, the mediæval documents sometimes contain the word *baccalare*, 'field with vines,' 'orchard.'<sup>36</sup> There is also *baccalaria* for 'a small country estate,' 'a tenure,' *baccalarius*, 'young peasant' (often with a tinge of depreciation).<sup>37</sup> The meaning of 'young peasant' still survives in It. *baccalaro*, 'ostler, groom.' Dr. Stowell, reviving Scheler's etymology,<sup>38</sup> suggests that the words might be for *vaccalarius* and mean 'cow-herd,' as it is sometimes the case in old texts for Fr. *bachelier*, e. g., in the Old French Bible glossaries in Hebrew characters.<sup>39</sup> The change of *v* into *b* would be due to the influence of the Provençal dialects in which *b* and *v* are con-

<sup>34</sup> E. g., in Trelon (Nord).

<sup>35</sup> That adjective is actually found in Pliny, *H. N.*, 760.

<sup>36</sup> Ducange, s. v.; to *baccalare* from *baccale*, compare *bovalare* from *bovale* in Old Spanish, Wiener, o. c., p. 118.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. W. A. Stowell, *Note on the Etymology of "bachelier,"* in *Elliott Studies*, I, p. 225 sqq.

<sup>38</sup> *Dict. Etym. Fr.*, s. v. *bachelier*.

<sup>39</sup> Stowell, o. c., p. 234.

fused. Against this may be adduced that *baccalarius* is too old and too general a form to admit of such an interpretation. Besides, the meaning 'orchard' for *baccalare*, and the evidence that we present here of the existence of a family of words derived from *baca*, etc., tend to relate *baccalarius* to that same semantic and phonetic group which very well accounts for all the meanings of Pop. Lat. *baccalarius*, It. *baccalaro*, and O. Fr. *bachelor*. The casual assimilation of *bachelor* to a 'cowherd' might best be accounted for by a late contamination with *vacca*, which was rather to be expected. The general meaning 'peasant' instead of 'vine-grower, fruit grower,' has developed naturally in the Mediterranean countries, and in older times was probably facilitated by the semantic connection between *baca* and *Bacchus*. There was, indeed, a word *baccho*, 'stupid fellow, follower of Bacchus,' that was used for 'peasant,' e. g., in 'rustici, baccones, agricolae, coloni.'<sup>40</sup> *Baccho* has apparently to be considered as one of those depreciative words in -o, -onis that were so abundant in Popular Latin. *Baccho* was a 'drinker' and a 'partaker in foolish and noisy country carnivals,' as *mustio* was a 'drinker of young intoxicating wine,' *bibo*, 'a drinker' in general, *glutto*, a 'glutton,' etc.

Discredit has been thrown in later times on the *bacchanalia*, as shown by It. *baccano*, 'noise,' Istr. *bucanaya*, 'roar.' Originally, however, *baccho* may have been a Greek word. *Βάκχων* is found as a diminutive of *Βάκχος* (A. B. 856), also with a jocose meaning.

That sensible filiation, I think, provides us with a clue to disclose the etymology of *bacassa*, a very obscure word appearing in Old Fr. *baiasse*, Prov. *bagassa*, 'lass'; while *bacassella* survives in O. Fr. *baisselle*, 'maid.'

Besides *Βάκχων* there was a word *Βακχᾶς*<sup>41</sup> for *Βακχευτής*, 'any one full of Bacchic frenzy or wine.' Now, in late Greek, feminines in -ίσσα, -υσσα, -ασσα are not rare. *Πλατύς*, 'broad,' for instance, formed a feminine *πλατύσσα*, which penetrated into Popular Latin as *platussa* or *platissa*, hence Catal. *platussa*, 'sole, plaice,' Wall. *playis*, *pleis*, 'plaice,' Gasc. *platuso* 'plaice,' therefore *Βάκχασα* as a feminine of *Βάκχας* is not at all unlikely.

*Bacassa* provided a natural feminine to *baccho*, *bacco*. It re-

<sup>40</sup> Glos. Lat. Ms. Reg.—Ducange, s. v.

<sup>41</sup> Soph. Fr. 598, Phrynicus, 433 (ed. Lobeck).



ferred thus to a peasant girl with a marked depreciation. The reduction of *cch* into *c* is explainable by the constant contamination in that group of words between *Bacchus* and *baca*. Moreover, it is well known that to *cc* after the accent regularly corresponds *c* before the stress. *Bacco* : *bacassa* is like *plattus* : *platussa* and, moreover, like *canna* : *canalis*, *farrea* : *farina*, *mamma* : *mamilla*, *offa* : *ofella*, etc.

I hope such interpretations of the curious words *baccalaris* and *bacasse* will seem natural and relatively simple. They are so, if compared with the other explanations proposed for those words. Besides Scheler's<sup>42</sup> and Stowell's hypothesis (cf. *supra*), *baccalaris* was vaguely suspected to be connected with Ir. *bachlach*, 'servant.' T. Claussen<sup>43</sup> saw in *baccalaris* an alteration of *πάγκληπος*, 'having the whole inheritance,' a word hardly found in Greek and very far from the Popular Latin word both in form and in meaning. *Bacassa* has led to even more curious explanations, as, for instance, a borrowing from Arab. *baguiyya*, 'lass, prostitute,' or a connection with *vagus*,<sup>44</sup> so that a *bacassa* would be a 'wandering maid.'

Those unlucky attempts show how unexplored yet is the section of the Popular Latin vocabulary which refers to things of the country. The study of place-names, which is now only beginning, will no doubt provide the student in Latin and Romance lexicology with a great number of documents concerning that same kind of Latin. In various cases in the present article some light has been thrown on the questions from that source of information. It would no doubt have proved much more useful if the documentation were more complete and more accessible. The special phonetic alterations in those eminently popular and emancipated words, as in general in all words referring to the country, account to a great extent for the obscurity in which they have hitherto remained.

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<sup>42</sup> *Dict Etym. Franc.*, s. v.

<sup>44</sup> Körting, *L. R. W.*, 1131.

<sup>43</sup> *Rom. Forsch.*, xv, 839.